



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

**FBIS-AFR-95-060  
Wednesday  
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# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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## Burundi

### France's Debre Wants Mobutu Involved in Solution

LD2803151095 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 28 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At around 1100 this morning, 150 men, women, and children—mostly French nationals—boarded a plane which was specially brought to Bujumbura, capital of Burundi, to take them to Europe. [passage omitted]

The German Government advised its nationals this morning to leave Burundi, where it seems that the situation today is calm. [passage omitted]

For French Cooperation Minister Bernard Debre, this is his second trip to Bujumbura in the space of 72 hours. [passage omitted] In the context of a possible regional settlement of the Burundi and Rwanda conflicts, the minister, Bernard Debre, yesterday mentioned to the press the desirability, in his view, of Zaire's head of state playing a role. This is what he said:

[Begin Debre recording] Mobutu holds part of the key to solving the Angola crisis, by aiding Jonas Savimbi. And Mobutu holds part of the solution, in the area of the Great Lakes, by providing shelter in a number of camps to refugees, first of all, but also to extremists. I personally think that we must be truthful about this and say that in the coming days we need to organize a political meeting of the Great Lakes countries and admit that Mr. Mobutu should be present. [end recording]

### Rules Out Armed Intervention

LD2803174495 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 28 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] About 155 French women and children left Bujumbura, the Burundi capital, today. Cooperation Minister Bernard Debre, who is in Burundi, was present at this departure, which one can describe as an evacuation. The minister this morning met the president and prime minister of Burundi. The former is in favor of an armed intervention, the latter is opposed. Listen to what Bernard Debre said on this subject. He was interviewed by Frederique Barrere:

[Begin Debre recording] France will not intervene militarily and neither will the European Union or an international force, I think. I still have not understood who could intervene, who would like to intervene, and against whom to intervene. I could be wrong. I do not possess the truth but I do not see how, in a situation we know well, an army could land and try to oppose another army and establish law and order. How long would this take? Past experience showed the difficulties and the inefficiency of such an operation.

Today I am perhaps very open with you because I like to tell the truth. The solution will come from Burundi itself. [end recording]

### President Urges Learning Rwandan 'Lessons'

BR2803145395 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 28 Mar 95 p 2

[Report on interview with President Ntibantunganya by Marie-France Cros on 27 March 1995; place not given: "Is Burundi in its death throes?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In an interview with LA LIBRE BELGIQUE on Monday afternoon [27 March], Burundian President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya maintained that if calm had virtually returned to Bujumbura, this was because "those responsible for the disturbances must consider that they have achieved their aim, or have opted for a temporary withdrawal." Hutu and Tutsi sources report that the exodus of the inhabitants of the districts affected by the violence has now slowed down and some people are even returning. But the fear remains palpable.

### Bodies Buried

President Ntibantunganya informed us that the prime minister, a member of the Tutsi opposition, and the president of the National Assembly, a Hutu from the majority presidential party, who were dispatched to find out what was happening on Saturday, were unable to see all they wanted to see because their safety could not be guaranteed beyond certain limits. "A meeting of the National Security Council was held this afternoon, during which the defense minister reported that 132 bodies had been found and buried. No doubt we must expect a final total of 150 to 200 victims. We were not told whether there had been any victims among the security forces. I asked them for a report. We must know what happened and the perpetrators of the violence must be brought to heel." [passage omitted]

President Ntibantunganya told LA LIBRE BELGIQUE that "the populations who fled to Zaire came from Bwiza and Buyenzi, while the attacks by armed bands (Hutus—editor's note) occurred in Kanyosha. I am waiting for a report in order to learn who did what."

Does the Burundian president favor foreign intervention? "I have always said that we must learn the lessons from what happened in Rwanda, when the international community observed without reacting until the genocide had been perpetrated. We must not allow a genocide in Burundi. If there is an explosion, it could ignite the whole region," of the Great Lakes.

### Frodebu Official Urges International Intervention

AB2803211295 Paris AFP in French 1912 GMT 28 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Brazzaville, 28 Mar (AFP)—A spokesman for the ruling Front for Democracy in Burundi [Frodebu], made up primarily of people from the Hutu ethnic majority group, today called on the



international community to intervene in Burundi. He is accusing the National Army of "joining Tutsi extremists to exterminate Hutus."

Speaking to journalists in Brazzaville, where he is on a visit, the Frodebu parliamentary group spokesman, Corneille Budigye, called for the deployment of an "international force" to restore security and order to Burundi. He stated: "We are calling on the international community to intervene in Burundi just as it did in Rwanda in order to restore peace to this country." He further stated that the National Army, the majority of whom are Tutsis, have joined Tutsi extremists to carry out genocide, and to exterminate Hutu allies of the ruling party.

Interviewed on a recent Brazzaville meeting organized by the UN Committee for Security in Central Africa at which Burundi was represented, Mr. Budigye questioned the ability of such meetings to restore peace to Burundi. In his view, "such a meeting can reach consensus only on the agenda and daily allowances."

#### Situation 'Slowly' Returning to Normal

EA2803170795 Bujumbura AGENCE BURUNDAISE  
DE PRESSE in French 0925 GMT 28 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bujumbura, 28 Mar (ABP)—The situation is slowly returning to normal in Bujumbura after the violence which shook the districts of Buyenzi and Bwiza near the center of the town causing a massive movement of people toward Zaire last weekend. Business got under way cautiously today. The administration and public transport worked partially, and pupils returned to school except in areas closest to the districts deeply affected by the weekend violence.

Some people who fled to Zaire have started returning to their districts, while others have remained at Gatumba—18 km from the Zairian border. They are waiting for the normalization of the situation. According to the refugees, others will return shortly, as some fled out of fear and not because they were implicated in the attacks.

In order to protect the goods of displaced people and refugees, the mayor of the town of Bujumbura, Mr. Pie Ntihakindiye, ordered the police to look after the property of absent and present citizens, and to rigorously control transported goods.

Meanwhile, the local political and administrative authorities are concerned about an exodus of between 1,500 and 2,000 people—women and children of Rumonge and its neighborhood—to Kigoma, Tanzania, or Zaire. It is worth noting that 707 rather than 200 young Hutus, who were transported by bus from Kamenye and Kinama in the northern part of the capital, were apprehended in Muramvya on 26 March. After verifying their identity papers, they were taken yesterday to Gitega, from where most of them originate. In fact, some of them were carrying false identity papers, while

others were wanted by the police for their involvement in the massacres of October 1993.

#### 'Precarious Calm' as Refugee Flood Stabilizes

LD2803201895 Paris Radio France International in  
French 1830 GMT 28 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] There should not be any international military intervention in Burundi—the announcement comes from diplomatic circles at the United Nations and the French cooperation minister. In New York the Security Council is just envisaging a statement on the Burundi crisis, while in Bujumbura Bernard Debre made things very clear. The French minister, who was paying a lightning visit to Burundi to support the government and the moderate political forces, stated in fact that a solution must come from the Burundians themselves. [passage omitted]

Jean Helene, our special correspondent in Bujumbura, attended Bernard Debre's news conference. We have further details from him:

[Helene] The French cooperation minister clearly said that there can be no outside military intervention in Burundi. The unhappy experiences in Somalia and Rwanda show the limits of this kind of operation, specified Bernard Debre. The solution will come from the Burundians themselves, he added, expressing the view that the promise of foreign assistance could encourage the rival parties to come to an understanding. If the Burundians want the international community to help them, then they must make an effort to resolve the crisis. I do not see what else we can do, concluded the minister, revealing a certain helplessness.

The opposition has expressed satisfaction at Mr. Debre's words. The opposition, which has the support of the army, has said many times that it will categorically oppose the sending of any foreign force. As for the party in power, which has called for foreign intervention and denounced the partiality of the army, it considers Mr. Debre's words to be premature. They may certainly soothe the concerns of the Tutsi opposition, as they may also encourage them to become more radical. Jean Helene in Bujumbura for RFI.

[Announcer] The Belgian defense minister has just added a new element to Bernard Debre's words: The Belgian minister does not rule out the possibility of military intervention by the international community in Burundi if the ethnic unrest turns to genocide. In any case, Bernard Debre's statement runs counter to the wishes of Leonard Nyangoma, the former Burundi minister who has distanced himself from the Front for Democracy in Burundi, the majority party. This morning he called for an international force to be sent to help disarm what he calls a fascist army. He accuses this army of engaging in genocide against the Hutus. [passage omitted]



For the time being a precarious calm continues to prevail in Bujumbura and the flood of refugees which has been heading for Zaire for several days now began to stabilize yesterday, according to the UNHCR. About half of these refugees—who number 23,000 to 35,000, according to various sources—are Zairean. It should be said that 200 of them were killed during the violence in the Burundi capital.

#### **Westerners Depart; Nationals Return From Zaire**

*EA2803201995 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 28 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] After the violence Bujumbura has been experiencing, calm seems to be returning slowly. Our reporters visited Buyenzi District and took the road to Gatumba. I suggest you listen to a report by our colleague Didace Ndikumana who was also present at Bujumbura International Airport during the departure of Western women and children.

[Begin recording] [Ndikumana] The first thing which would come as a surprise to an observer is the fact that Buyenzi District, which is generally crowded, is not at all [words indistinct]. In the surroundings of Buyenzi market, a few people started moving about, comforted by the fact that security forces are around. They are mostly women and children, and a small number of young men.

While a few nationals started returning from Zaire, foreigners for their part—most of them Western—are leaving for the West. Why do they leave? Their predominant feeling is: they are afraid. [passage indistinct]

Some of them have received orders from their embassies.

[Unidentified Western lady] Well, it is first because of the situation prevailing here, and also [words indistinct] the ambassador himself the (?duty) to leave. [end recording]

#### **Dutch Plans for Evacuation**

*BR2803104295 Hilversum Nederland-1 Television Network in Dutch 1800 GMT 27 Mar 95*

[Video report by Tim Dekkers]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] A real genocide is not yet taking place in Burundi, but the French Government says it may be necessary to send international troops if the situation in that country deteriorates. [passage omitted]. Foreigners working in Burundi have no plans yet to leave the country, but they want to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals. [passage omitted] According to the Netherlands ambassador to Burundi, who is posted in Nairobi, the situation in Burundi is not yet so dramatic that Netherlands citizens have to be evacuated.

[Begin R. Treffers recording, identified by screen caption as Netherlands ambassador in Nairobi] At this moment

there is no need to evacuate, but as soon as it seems necessary, the evacuation of Netherlands citizens will take place under Belgian command; we have already made the necessary arrangements. [end recording]

[Announcer] Cooperation workers have a dim view of Burundi's future, and [Netherlands] Cooperation Minister Pronk thinks that the international community cannot play a role of any significance in avoiding a catastrophe.

[Begin recording] [Dekkers] [passage omitted] Burundi is not yet Rwanda, but according to Minister Pronk, the international community is not able to prevent a catastrophe.

[Pronk] The only thing we could do and which might be effective in the short term is to send a sizable police force to the area, but that is not what the international community is doing; the international community is only willing to accompany, to help with the negotiations, to mediate. People in Burundi know this, so the weak feel abandoned and the strong use a threatening language such as: Woe to you if you come here!

[Dekkers] So in Burundi, one of the poorest countries in the world, a massacre resembling that of last year in Rwanda is imminent. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] The aid organization Mensen in Nood [People in Distress] has allocated 2 million guilders to help Burundian refugees. The money will be used to accommodate the influx of refugees into camps in the neighboring countries of Zaire and Tanzania.

#### **French Begin Evacuating**

*AB2803120095 Paris AFP in English 1139 GMT 28 Mar 95*

[By Serge Arnold]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bujumbura, March 28 (AFP)—Some 200 foreigners, mostly French women and children, left Bujumbura aboard a special flight Tuesday [28 March] for "holidays" abroad after a week of fighting between ethnic Hutus and Tutsis which left up to 500 dead. Among those fleeing were 155 women and children from the 500-strong French community here.

Residents from Belgium—the largest expatriot community with 900 members—the United States, Spain and Germany also said they were making plans to leave in the next few days. Three Belgians, including a small child, died in an ambush last week blamed on Hutu extremists. The foreign ministry in Bonn on Tuesday called on its nationals to withdraw. It said that between 112 and 130 Germans worked in Burundi, mainly in the development sector and with religious bodies.

The capital of the small highland nation was relatively calm early Tuesday morning after gunfire and explosions Monday evening in several neighbourhoods, and the night also appeared to have been calm. Gunfire was

heard in the Hutu neighborhood of Kamenge in the north of the city, and Burundian radio reported grenade explosions in unspecified areas of the capital.

French Cooperation Minister Bernard Debre, who arrived here Monday, refused to speak of an evacuation. "There is no evacuation," he said Tuesday. "The men are staying. There are women and children who are going on holidays." He said that the Easter break, due to begin on April 1, had been brought forward because of the recent violence. The one-way airplane tickets were paid for by the French government.

The city had been largely calm Monday for the first time in a week as Burundians returned to work, children went back to school and the military presence in the flashpoint Buyenzi district was sharply reduced.

In other developments, Burundian radio said up to 2,000 Hutus from the Rumonge district south of Bujumbura fled to Zaire Monday. It did not say why. It also said gunmen attacked an army position in Rugazi but there were no casualties.

Debre had talks on Tuesday morning with Hutu President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya and Premier Antoine Nduwayo, who is from the Tutsi minority. Ntibantunganya has said he favours foreign armed intervention to stave off conflict, while Nduwayo, like the Tutsi-dominated army, does not.

"I am not here ahead of an army," said Debre. "I have simply come to see if we can be useful in ensuring that there can still be sufficient peace for a period to help Burundi to develop."

On Monday, UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali urged the Security Council to watch the situation closely and voiced his concern over the new upsurge in ethnic violence in talks with representatives of the council's five permanent members, said his spokesman Joe Sills. The five are the United States, France, Russia, China and Britain. Sills added that while there was "no definitive figure on the people killed, the range seems to be from 200 to 500."

Ntibantunganya has warned that his country was on the brink of genocide after a week of ethnic bloodshed that saw troops of the Tutsi-dominated army allegedly carrying out "ethnic cleansing" against Hutus in the capital.

Burundi has the same ethnic makeup as neighboring Rwanda, where more than 500,000 people, mostly minority Tutsis, were killed last year.

The United Nations has a representative in Burundi, Ahmedou Ould Abdallah of Mauritania, who works in coordination with human rights observers with the Organisation of African Unity.

Last year, the UN chief proposed sending a preventive mission to Zaire that would have been prepared to move into Burundi in case the situation took a turn for the worse. But the idea did not get off the ground, so far failing to attract support from the international community.

**Gauteng ANC Faults Constitutional Proposals**

MB2803184595 Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English 28 Mar 95 pp 1, 2

[Report by Drew Forrest]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Constitutional proposals drafted by the national ANC suffer from "fundamental problems" and fail to provide for adequate co-operation between central and regional governments, says a document drawn up by the ANC's Gauteng region.

The document, entitled Co-operative Governance, was drawn up by the Gauteng ANC's constitutional commission and adopted at a Gauteng constitutional conference at the weekend. It is a significant pointer on how regions will respond to the national proposals, which envisage reduced law-making powers for the provinces under the final constitution.

Both sets of recommendations will be debated at the ANC's constitutional summit this week. "They are chopping blocks," stressed Gauteng MP Firoz Cachalia, who sits on the ANC's national constitutional commission. "Neither represent the final ANC position."

Distancing itself from the Inkatha Freedom Party's hard-line federalism, Gauteng rejects the call for exclusive powers for the regions, and backs a national override on provincial laws in all matters relating to national unity. It endorses the ANC national document's emphasis on establishing structures of intergovernmental co-operation.

However, it voices concern that the ANC national proposals imply "centralised top-down law-making and decentralised administration", and questions whether they satisfy the constitutional principles agreed to before the general election.

"Administrative responsibility without meaningful legislative power or intergovernmental institutions can lead only to inefficient governance and the phenomenon of toy telephones," Gauteng says.

Calling for a relationship between government levels which is neither centralist nor federalist, it proposes:

- Retention of current provincial competencies. Gauteng expresses concern that the national proposals "almost eliminate the provincial policing power";
- Retention of onus of proof as to validity of provincial laws, which presently favours the provinces. It suggests the Senate be empowered to authorise national overrides of provincial legislation;
- That the Senate consist only of provincial representatives (the national ANC envisages some Cabinet representation chosen by provincial legislatures), and
- That the Senate can veto all legislation affecting provinces including finance bills and the national Budget, and delay others.

**Progress Reported in Talks on Truth Commission**

MB2903133795 Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English 29 Mar 95 p 3

[Report by political correspondent Esther Waugh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cape Town—Top-level talks are taking place between the ANC and the National Party [NP] in a last-ditch attempt to resolve critical differences over the proposed Truth Commission.

Good progress was being made in the discussions between Justice Minister Dullah Omar, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and General Services Minister Chris Fisser, sources said.

It was expected that these talks would form the basis for further discussion in the Cabinet on the Truth Commission Bill.

The parliamentary justice committee, which was yesterday scheduled to begin voting on the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Bill, instead discussed non-contentious issues while the talks on the differences continued behind the scenes.

ANC MP Willie Hofmeyr yesterday told the committee "some progress was being made at other levels". It was becoming increasingly possible that the draft legislation would not be debated in Parliament before the end of the present session.

The talks at ministerial level centred on a confidentiality clause, the cut-off date for the granting of amnesty and the inclusion of the so called Norgaard principles which dealt with the relation between a crime and the political motivation for committing such a crime.

It is understood that agreement has been reached between the ANC and the NP that the Truth Commission would conduct open hearings, but provision was made for in-camera proceedings should there be such a need.

The differences over the cut-off date for amnesty could be more difficult to resolve as the ANC wanted to retain December 5, 1993 as stipulated by the Interim Constitution while the NP—along with the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP], PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Resistance Movement]—favoured an extension of the date to the inauguration of President Mandela on May 10 last year.

On the third difference, the ANC was arguing for the inclusion of the Norgaard principle, which was applied in the Namibian process, while the NP wanted it to be excluded from the draft legislation.

The Bill provided for the establishment of a Truth Commission along with an amnesty committee, a committee on reparations and another to investigate human rights violations.



In yesterday's parliamentary committee meeting, the IFP's Farouk Cassim proposed that the Bill be renamed the Fact Finding and Reconciliation Committee as only certain aspects of the truth and not the whole truth were likely to emerge from the Truth Commission. Supporting Cassim, NP MP Danie Schutte proposed that the committee consider renaming the Bill the Amnesty, Reconciliation and Reparation Bill. Debate on these proposals would take place when the title of the draft legislation was discussed.

The NP's Jako Maree again raised the cost of the Truth Commission, but Hofmeyr noted that R55-million [rands] was provided for it in this year's Budget.

### **PAC Launches 'Image-Changing' Campaign**

*MB2903092395 Johannesburg FINANCE WEEK in English 23-29 Mar 95 pp 12, 14*

[Report by Charlene Smith]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The slogan "One settler, one bullet" backfired badly against the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] during last year's elections. Now, in an effort to win votes and a more sympathetic media, it is on an image-changing, vote-catching drive.

In Sharpeville on Human Rights Day, which was also the 35th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, PAC president Clarence Makwetu told about 3,000 supporters that "no party worth its name will take the coming elections lightly".

The rally, which was marked by brief, punchy speeches and lasting only two hours, down from the all-day affairs of preelection rallies, heard a more moderate PAC than hinted at in the old t-shirts of supporters.

A young man wearing a t-shirt with the words, "Support what the enemy opposes and oppose what the enemy supports", depicted the rather infantile political message of the old PAC. New t-shirts have a slogan with a deeper meaning for land hungry urban people: "A vote for the PAC, is a vote for land".

A dusty adolescent representing the face of poverty, and wearing a torn t-shirt with the slogan, "New SA [South Africa]—We Love You", gave added meaning to PAC attacks on the failure of the government of national unity to deliver on RDP [Reconstruction and Development Program] promises. The failure of the RDP to deliver is certain to become a pivotal PAC election standpoint, and one that has resonance with potential voters.

Makwetu asked the crowd at Sharpeville, "From what have we been liberated...if we have been liberated? Our history is so full of blood...and yet nearly all of us are now contented, nearly all of us are happy with whites occupying the same positions they held before 1994.

"Wasn't the struggle about fundamental change and improving the lot of the underdog? There were many promises made...houses, jobs, free education, free

healthcare." Then to derisory laughter and sustained applause Makwetu said: "And now the people who made these promises tell people not to have high expectations".

A local PAC executive member calling on residents to register for elections also had crowd support when he pointed out that the local hospital "is falling apart" and that the killers of a Sharpeville family had yet to be brought to book.

But the cash-strapped PAC has realised it needs to do more for its voice to be heard. PAC national organiser Maxwell Nmadzivhanani admits that the party's leaders are trying to change the image of the PAC "as an organisation of young children who toyi-toyi [protest dance] and shout slogans. Last year only young men were party agents, now we want people with grey hair to represent us too. The PAC was seen as a party with ideological and demagogic appeal. We need to be more than that."

Two months ago the PAC, with the assistance of Wits [Witwatersrand] Voter Education and Training Unit, began training the first of 600 supporters who have returned to their areas to get people to register before the April cut-off date and build support for the PAC.

"Last year we did badly because we did not train enough people. This year we intend training 22,000 voter education party agents."

The PAC, along with other political organisations, has realised that local government is potentially the most powerful arm of government in the new SA. A badly functioning local government will not get RDP gains to constituents, while an effective local government can ensure that not only does the RDP reach voters, but in the ways the local government sees fit and with kudos going to canny party representatives.

Nmadzivhanani points out: "Local government is the first tier of government and the receiving end of government. We have to fight effectively to win political control."

Instead of spreading itself thinly as it did last year, the PAC is adopting a more focused electoral strategy now. "We have to go into areas where we are strong, such as the Northern Transvaal, the North West, Eastern Cape and Eastern Transvaal." But for the Eastern Transvaal, which is well-managed by premier Matthew Phosa, the PAC could do well in the conflict-ridden other three areas where ANC government is seen as chaotic and corrupt.

Nmadzivhanani points out that while the PAC lacks funds it is now going on house-to-house campaigns—which the ANC also began this month. "We have to change our orientation from liberation politics to campaign-orientated politics and from armed struggle to fighting disease and poverty. We now have provincial structures to help co-ordinate regions on the ground. The

PAC must be at the forefront to create homes for people and call on government to move faster."

Nemadzivhanani says registration efforts have revealed confusion among voters. "People say they voted in national elections and their lives have not improved. We are saying there can't be effective delivery until there is effective local government.

"To those who question registering because they voted last year without registering, we point out that if there had been registration there could not have been the vote-rigging that we saw in the national elections."

At the Sharpeville rally, Makwetu not only made sympathetic reference to Winnie Mandela, whom many see as closer to PAC sentiments than the ANC, but also criticised government failure to accede to Inkatha requests for international mediation.

PAC and Inkatha were in a hazy alliance for last year's national elections, and Nemadzivhanani danced around the issue when asked by FW [FINANCE WEEK] if this alliance would continue in local government elections.

He said the PAC would seek strategic alliances, if necessary, with any political party from the Nationalists to the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], or smaller groups, if it benefited it in the elections.

If the PAC can steer away from its tendency to have catchy, but vote-losing slogans and commit itself to hard political thinking, it could perform far better in local government elections than its miserable showing last year.

#### **Mandela Expected To Crack Down on Lawlessness**

MB2803181195 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
28 Mar 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Patrick Bulger]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cape Town—President Mandela's firing yesterday of his estranged wife has cleared the way for strong government action to roll back the tide of lawlessness engulfing the country, government sources said.

The president did not provide a specific reason for his firing of Winnie Mandela from her post as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology. However, the sources said the president, who has recently made a number of tough sounding statements against indiscipline and lawlessness, felt undermined by her ongoing defiance. He found it difficult to threaten action against student hostage-takers and vandals while a senior Government of National Unity [GNU] official openly defied him.

The step was immediately welcomed by political parties, including the ANC-led alliance, the National Party, and the Democratic Party.

The alliance pointed out the link between Mr Mandela's firing and renewed government action against lawlessness. It said: "Particularly when the ANC-led movement is calling on ordinary people in our country to participate with discipline in the process of transformation, it is unacceptable for leadership personalities to behave in a manner not befitting their status as elected public representatives."

A stern-looking President Mandela made the announcement shortly after 3pm at a packed media conference at his Tuynhuys office.

He was flanked by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who had been given the job of dealing with Mrs Mandela and who yesterday sent a letter to the former deputy minister informing her of the decision.

Mandela's statement said the decision had been taken "both in the interest of good government and to ensure the highest standards of discipline among leading officials in the GNU".

He appointed ANC constitutional expert Brigitte Mabandla in her place.

Mandela would not give reasons for her firing. However, these were believed to be related to her unauthorised visit to west Africa and statements indicating she did not support the GNU's policies.

He said: "I am not going into details but I'm concerned that the GNU should function effectively and that every member make a constructive contribution to the problems that we face."

He had no authority to relieve Mrs Mandela of the position to which she was elected—that of MP—"but as far as the Government is concerned...I appoint the Cabinet and it is my right and prerogative to reshuffle the Government as a whole or a particular department if I consider it necessary for the effective functioning of Government".

Asked about the timing, he said: "I had to be convinced that the timing was correct. As far as what she is going to do as a result of this statement, this is a matter that lies entirely in her own hands.

"I am convinced that I have the situation completely under control.

"As much as I would like to share the reasons why I have done so, this is a question of Government. You must accept my assurance that I have exercised my prerogative very carefully indeed."

Government sources said the president's action did not necessarily indicate the start of a campaign against like-minded individuals in the ANC.

The ANC statement—signed by its allies the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African National

Civic Organisation—said it “affirmed our full support for President Nelson Mandela’s announcement”.

It added: “We call on all our people and organised formations to stand firmly behind the president and the ANC-led alliance. Let there be no personal vindictiveness from any quarter.”

The NP’s [National Party] David Malatsi and the DP’s [Democratic Party] justice spokesman Douglas Gibson said their parties welcomed the president’s step.

Freedom Front chairman Pieter Mulder said, “We are convinced that the decision will strengthen President Nelson Mandela’s image and not (Mrs) Mandela’s as some commentators believed.”

—Jovial Rantao reports that women who described themselves as members of the Gauteng region of the ANC yesterday demonstrated outside ANC headquarters in Johannesburg in support of Mrs Mandela.

#### W. Mandela’s Press Secretary Resigns Post

*MB2803120995 Johannesburg Saffm Radio Network in English 1100 GMT 28 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mrs. Winnie Mandela’s former press secretary, Mr. Alan Reynolds, has resigned his position in the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. Mr. Reynolds was critical of the way in which his boss was dismissed, saying he wouldn’t work for a new deputy minister. Our political desk reports that Mrs. Mandela seems to have gone to ground and that it’s unlikely she’ll hold an expected news conference today.

#### Azapo Reacts To Firing of Winnie Mandela

*MB2803204795 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1920 GMT 28 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg March 28 SAPA—The African National Congress had remained silent while Winnie Mandela built her reputation on the very activities and utterances the ANC now opposed, the Azanian People’s Organisation [Azapo] said on Tuesday.

Azapo said that while it “holds no brief for Mrs Mandela”, it alone had stood out in the past in condemning statements and activities attributed to Mrs Mandela, “especially the infamous necklace statement”, in which she apparently condoned township murders in which the victims were doused with petrol and set alight with a car tyre around their necks.

Azapo was reacting to the dismissal of Mrs Mandela from her post as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology.

The ANC had found no fault with Mrs Mandela’s utterances and activities at the time, because it had wanted the support and votes of the black community.

Azapo said “white liberals and their media” had encouraged Mrs Mandela’s dismissal, and the ANC had now actually fulfilled the objectives of white liberals.

Tension was growing within the ANC over the delivery of election promises. The ANC seemed unable to implement crucial decisions and programmes intended to uplift the living standards of blacks. The ANC was being made to fear a white backlash, the flight of investments, and the withdrawal of the National Party from the government. As a result, the ANC “is no longer prepared to support militant actions”, Azapo said.

#### E. Cape Chiefs Shocked by W. Mandela Firing

*MB2903055695 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2243 GMT 28 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] East London March 28 SAPA—Several traditional chieftains in the Eastern Cape on Tuesday reacted with shock and surprise at Mrs Winnie Mandela axing as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology.

Paramount chief of the Amaraebe Chief Maxhobayakhawuleza Sandile said he was shocked at the firing of Mrs Mandela. “I did not expect the government to act like that,” he said.

Chief Sandile said the political role played by Mrs Mandela was known to all and he believed she would continue serving the government with all her abilities.

“Mrs Mandela is a gifted politician who has been always available for the oppressed and is still capable of continuing her calling, since she is still an MP,” Chief Sandile said.

President of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa Chief Phathekile Holomisa said he was disappointed and could not understand the sacking as no reasons had been given.

“The government has claimed to be transparent but has failed to provide reasons for this,” he said.

Acting paramount chief of the Tembus Chief Patrick Dalindyabo said: “Winnie’s expulsion is very painful especially when one thinks of the role she played during the apartheid era.”

#### IFP Marches Peaceful Throughout Country

*MB2803152295 Johannesburg Saffm Radio Network in English 1400 GMT 28 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] Member of Parliament Themba Khoza has called for 28 March to be commemorated as a public holiday, to mark last year’s incidents in which more than 30 people were killed in downtown Johannesburg.

Mr. Khoza was addressing a gathering of mourners in the city’s Library Gardens, after he and other Zulu leaders



had laid wreaths outside the ANC headquarters at Shell House in memory of the marchers who were killed.

Mr. Khoza criticized the police for the manner in which they have been handling the investigation into the shooting and accused President Nelson Mandela of dragging his feet in bringing the culprits to book. He said the families of the victims were considering bringing civil claims against the ANC which, he alleged, was hindering the investigation.

The marches in Johannesburg and other centers in the country all appear to have gone off peacefully. Anthea Warner of our Johannesburg news staff reports:

[Warner] There were no incidents during today's services in Johannesburg, and traffic congestion is reported to be heavy in and around the city as participants in the gatherings return home. The route followed by the marchers was cordoned off for much of its length, resulting in a pile-up of traffic. The ANC's national and regional headquarters and adjacent streets were closed off with razor wire.

In Durban, IFP supporters who gathered to mark the Johannesburg shooting were on their way back to Curries Fountain, after marching through the city center. The only element of discord during today's IFP marches appears to have occurred during a gathering outside Parliament in Cape Town, where demonstrating women from Manenberg took over the meeting. The Manenberg residents said they were frustrated with the high level of gangsterism in their area.

#### **SACC Decides To Part Ways With ANC**

*MB2903133695 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
29 Mar 95 p 19*

[Report by Abdul Milazi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The South African Council of Churches (SACC) fought side-by-side with the ANC and its allies for years against apartheid, but it was now time to part ways if the Church wanted to make a difference to the reconstruction and development of the peoples of South Africa.

This was the SACC's message to the nation when it ended its five day 27th national conference in Vanderbijlpark last week. SACC president Dr Khoza Mogojo said that, before 1990, the struggle for the eradication of apartheid and giving assistance to its victims constituted the entire agenda.

But many things had changed since last year's election, which presented the Church with new challenges. Mogojo said although democratic ideals were gradually being realised, the economic and social effects of apartheid continued to dominate the existing social order.

It was within this interval between the old and the new that the Church has to establish its identity in relation to the State said Mogojo. The SACC resolved that old

forms of resistance and slogans of the past were insufficient to meet the complexity of the new challenges. Pastoral responsibility required the Church to distinguish between what it could support in reconstruction and what it needed to resist.

The willingness to support the slow process of reconstruction should never become an excuse for the Church not to oppose the wrongs of the Government. Civil society had been excluded from taking part in the shaping of society between 1948 and 1990, and the Church had to help change that, the SACC said.

The biggest challenge to the Church was the temptation to choose between leaving politics to politicians and clinging to utopian ideals of what the State ought to be doing, and refuse to face the realities of what was politically and economically possible at a given time.

The Church had to be both a social critic and a partner to the Government in building the nation. It also needed to be vigilant in its commitment to an economy which addressed the needs of the poor. The conference resolved that the Church had a special responsibility to help both blacks and whites to find peace and growth in South Africa.

#### **Viljoen, De Klerk Seek Afrikaner Common Ground**

*MB2803093495 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans  
26 Mar 95 p 1, 2*

[Report by Piet Muller and Eugene Gunning]

[FBIS Translated Text] Talks that could have far reaching political repercussions were held between Deputy President F.W. de Klerk and Gen. Constand Viljoen. Details of the talks have begun leaking out in parliamentary circles during the last few days and have led to lively discussions among members of Parliament from both the National Party, NP, and the Freedom Front.

It is being regarded in political circles as "a meeting which sends out an important signal." Mr. de Klerk has labelled the talks as "exploratory of, among others, principle 34 of the interim constitution." The principle makes provision for some form of self-determination, provided there is sufficient and proven support within the community concerned.

It is clear that the discussions dealt with ways to entrench in the constitution—in particular for Afrikaans speakers—the right to an own community life and cultural and language freedom.

Gen. Viljoen expressed his concern to RAPPORT saying that what can be negotiated for the Afrikaner would be doomed to failure because some Afrikaner leaders would reject it for their own political gain. Hence the discussions had been an attempt to find consensus on the matter.

Both leaders categorically denied that the discussions had been about a "coalition" or political cooperation. Also in his speech in Pretoria this week, Gen. Viljoen rejected this possibility.

However, both leaders did express the possibility of future talks with other political groupings. Each of the leaders claimed to have taken the initiative for getting the discussions going, RAPPORT was told.

The two leaders had earlier met at Tuynhuys where plans for the meeting had been finalized. It took place in Mr. de Klerk's office and lasted for about half an hour. According to Mr. de Klerk, the "particular meeting took place following what had been said at an NP caucus meeting in Stellenbosch—namely, that the NP was looking at alliances with other parties, but was particularly looking at specific matters of key interest which it shared with other parties.

"The NP would like to find common ground with other parties that advocate the same views. For that reason talks were being conducted with 'major parties' to identify such ground."

According to Gen. Viljoen, the background to the meeting had been the fact that the Freedom Front was "virtually ready" to "begin negotiating seriously" on self-determination for the Afrikaner. "For that reason we believe it is of vital importance that the Afrikaner should now accept that we have to get a common starting point in the constitutional context."

He also soon plans to conduct talks with Conservative Party, CP, leader Ferdi Hartzenberg about the issue. "It is of great importance that the Afrikaner should develop a uniform view regarding the question of self-determination."

Mr. de Klerk also indicated that he was engaged in talks with other parties. According to him, he has already liaised with the Democratic Party in this regard. He is also in consultation with "civic organizations" such as cultural bodies which want to give an input into the constitutional debate, and with structure organizations such as the municipal association, and with the private sector.

According to Gen. Viljoen, he has explained to Mr. de Klerk during the discussions his ideal of "cultural self-determination," while Mr. de Klerk elaborated on his plan of "corporate self-determination."

Gen. Viljoen also said the Afrikaner Homeland Council would soon release its report. "Somewhere we have to find compromises among us. The ANC wants to accommodate the Afrikaner. It has told me so. The ANC could be nervous about just accommodating one party, that is why we have to find a common starting point."

—It is significant to note that Gen. Viljoen no longer insists on a sovereign Afrikaner homeland, but talks

simply of a "starting point," or rather a point from which further bargaining could emerge.

—At this juncture the CP could try to derail everything so far achieved through negotiations with the ANC, since the party has not as yet abandoned its all-or-nothing approach.

—In an interview with RAPPORT, Mr. de Klerk also spoke about "exploratory talks between the NP and the Freedom Front on important matters such as more effective protection of language rights, mother language tuition and culturally orientated education."

"The NP is participating in the discussions with the express condition that we are under no circumstances prepared to get involved in any racially based or racially defined solutions."

The discussion between the two leaders also took place against the background of escalating criticism, and even rejection of political leaders from the ranks of Afrikaans cultural organizations, because according to them, political expediency often weighed more than common cultural interests.

At a regional meeting of the Afrikaner League held on the East Rand last week and which is being discussed widely in parliamentary circles, the matter has elicited candid debates, and it was concluded that language and culture had to be the binding factor between Afrikaners who are politically divided.

It would seem that in future Afrikaner leaders will strongly vocalize the fact that politicians must push aside selfish interests and try to find common ground.

#### **Viljoen, Farmers Discuss Agriculture in Zaire**

*MB2903133595 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1217 GMT 29 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pietersburg March 28 [date as received] SAPA—Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen and a delegation of South African farmers are expected to return from Zaire on Friday.

The Zairian Government invited the South Africans to explore the possibilities of establishing the so-called Africa-Project.

Zaire is one of several countries which have showed interest in the project to settle South African farmers in neighbouring countries. Others include Mozambique, Uganda, Malawi and Angola. The delegation visited Mozambique last month on President Nelson Mandela's request.

The farmers, and interested parties from other sectors, also intend providing aid and expertise to help economic development in sub-Saharan countries.

Gen Viljoen is accompanied by among others the presidents of the Transvaal and Free State Agricultural Unions Dries Bruwer and Piet Gous respectively.

South African Press Review for 29 Mar  
MB2903122695

[FBIS Editorial Report]

**THE STAR**

Refugees Reluctant to Return to Mozambique—A page 18 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 29 March points out that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees this week "terminates its repatriation programme, having transported just 30,000 of the registered 120,000 Mozambican refugees in South Africa to their homeland." The organization has been "less successful" in the Eastern Transvaal to persuade refugees to return to Mozambique since they are "reluctant to leave the security of their adopted homeland."

**SOWETAN**

Winnie Mandela Loyalty to ANC 'Never Wavered'—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 29 March in a page 12 editorial welcomes President Nelson Mandela's "courage" in firing Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Winnie Mandela from her post. What probably made the decision "more difficult is not necessarily the personal anguish that the President must go through, but the respect that many people have for his estranged wife." "There are many things Mrs Mandela can be accused of but her loyalty to the ANC has never wavered. There are many mistakes she can be accused of making but her record also shows her commitment to helping the wretched of the earth." "There are those who have thought, rashly in our view, that Mrs Mandela was the leader of a cabal working to unseat the President and take over the leadership of the country." Winnie Mandela may have support but SOWETAN "cannot imagine her having the hegemonic sway to challenge the President."

**BUSINESS DAY**

Budget To Pacify Policemen Does 'Not Add Up'—President Nelson Mandela and Police Commissioner George Fivaz "have done an excellent job in pacifying restive policemen with promises that they can look forward to healthy improvements in salary and working conditions," notes Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 29 March in a page 12 editorial. But the policemen may have "had the wool pulled over their eyes. Either that, or the integrity of the Budget is in dire jeopardy. Because Mandela and Fivaz's commitments simply do not add up." Fivaz identified a 15 million rand, R, fund for once-off bonuses and then the service will "draw on the R2.5bn set aside in the Budget for public sector salary increases." However, the R2.5bn if spread equally across the board, "would render average increases of little more than 4 percent." "Even allowing for higher percentage increases at the bottom end of the scale (where restiveness is most apparent), this would not alter the picture much because there are relatively few senior officers to 'soak'."

**ILANGA**

Call To Stop Protest Destruction—Durban ILANGA in Zulu for 27-29 March in a page 4 editorial says that "despite the fact that the government of this country is now one of national unity, led by blacks, commotion continues to mushroom all over the place. At universities, colleges, and in some schools we still have senseless uprisings culminating in the unnecessary destruction of property. All this happens despite President Nelson Mandela's admonition that he has nothing against protest action by students and others as long as it does not involve destruction of property and hostage taking." This seems to be "falling on deaf ears." Protesters need to bear in mind that during national reconstruction "we can't build with one hand and destroy with the other. Stop these destructive elements."



### Angola

#### Air Force Raids Andulo; UNITA Returns Fire

*MB2903125695 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Gato Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 29 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Government MiG-23 and Su-25 fighter planes overflew the city of Andulo, which is administered by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], this morning. The aircraft departed from Catumbela Air Force Base and carried out raids [preceding word in English] over Andulo in a flagrant cease-fire violation.

UN Angola Verification Mission [Unavem]-2 personnel stationed in Andulo witnessed the event. The Unavem personnel, like all residents, had to be protected by UNITA's antiaircraft forces, who only acted in legitimate defense of the civilian population. There are no reports of human or material losses, but we will provide more details in our 2000 newscast.

Andulo residents were taken by surprise. There were periods of great uneasiness in Andulo.

Meanwhile, military observers have told the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel that the raids are part of a large-scale strategy to prevent the deployment of UN Blue Helmets in Angola. Our sources said the Angolan Armed Forces attacked the Unavem barracks at Chongoroi as part of the same strategy. The sources believe the Angolan Government could launch other attacks, not only in the central region, but also in the northern and southern regions.

In view of the incident at Andulo, Alioune Blondin Beye, UN special representative in Angola, is hereby urged to take an unequivocal stand.

### Mozambique

#### Article Views U.S. 'Attitude' Toward Country

*MB2803110095 Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 19 Mar 95 p 3*

[Unattributed article in the "Political Analysis" page: "What does the United States want?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have become accustomed to read in the local press what the United States wants for Mozambique. For instance, it wants the quick privatization of the Mozambique Commercial Bank. It wants an end to state-controlled media, although it is not able to say how and where the state controls the media. The United States wants the Bank of Mozambique to waive its share in the NOTICIAS publishing company, and so on. All this is done under the threat of withdrawing aid—which is so necessary to our country's development—if one does not comply with similar guidelines.

That was what U.S. delegation chief Carol Peasley stated with great many details in Paris, to the extent of using expressions like "we demand that Mozambique does..."

First, one must point out that when it is written that the United States wants this or that, nothing is said regarding what the United States is all about. The United States is a very complex country, with many intertwined forces opposed to each other. There is not one and the same standpoint on domestic and foreign problems. It is one of the most democratic countries in the world, and when it comes to its foreign policy, the State Department guidelines do not always coincide with the Senate's alliances, and vice-versa.

When among ourselves one talks about what the United States wants for Mozambique, the point of reference is primarily the policy espoused by Mr. Dennis Jett, its ambassador. Although he represents his government, in this matter he does not represent the general American view on Mozambique.

The feature of Dennis Jett's and his cohorts role in Mozambique has been a marked interference in its domestic affairs and its sovereignty trampled upon. By all accounts, Dennis Jett behaves as if he were a Mozambican opposition politician. Surely, he has not yet been declared persona non grata because he is a heavyweight, and relations between Mozambique and the United States go beyond personal matters. Moreover, the United States is an excessively strong country for a nation faced with an array of socioeconomic difficulties to order the return of the respective ambassador. Dennis Jett and his cohorts know that too well and act accordingly.

We know from a reliable source that even in the State Department there are those who dislike his style, however much effort Mozambican journalists make to endorse his views without a minimum of criticism.

Undoubtedly, the government has seriously committed itself to privatizations, even before the U.S. Government had demanded such a course of action. The government moved toward that goal by the logic of development. But this is no easy issue. One has to move with extreme care. We know, for instance, that Mozambican businessmen lack the capacity to compete on an equal footing with their foreign counterparts. They have absolutely no capital, are unable to obtain credit because they cannot provide sufficient collateral. Moreover, we are a country with no entrepreneurial background—we had no businessmen.

It would be easy to privatize all and sundry in one go if one opened the doors to foreign capital while ignoring what we have just stated and disregarding any anthropological considerations. We would have a puppet government because the country's vital forces would be in foreign hands. Of course, foreign capital is welcome, but it must be intertwined with local forces so that Mozambicans continue to rule Mozambique, and sovereignty remains a fact of life. After all, we know that sovereignty stems from the handling of various situations of dependency.

The attitude of "that United States," to which a certain Mozambican press (?provides ample coverage), is unprecedented in any fairly developed country of the world. What is taking place in Mozambique is this: "I give you alms, but

you must do as I say." It is humiliating. It reminds us of a joke in South Africa in the 1980's: A South African living in an African country went to visit his brother who lived in Pretoria, whom he had not seen for over 50 years. Watching the news on television, they saw Pieter Botha, and one of them asked: "Who is that white man?" "It is our president of the republic," said the brother from Pretoria. "What, do you have a white president? Where I came from, we put blacks in those places."

Is that what the U.S. policy followed by Mr. Dennis Jett intends to do? Does it want the vital sectors of the economy to be controlled by foreigners, while the government would be left with a golden throne that shines, but is otherwise powerless.

Strangely enough, the United States demands that Mozambique privatizes sectors that are publicly owned in other countries, like the railways, the airlines, and so on. We already have privately owned airline companies.

We do not know whether it is good or bad to privatize the railways or any other enterprise. What we know is that each and every privatization should take time, and that many of those at the center of U.S. demands, are publicly owned in other countries. It is not a sign of prudence to adapt U.S. economic rules to Mozambique.

Actually, the government had considerable success at the Paris Club. It was the greatest of all successes. Its goals were endorsed. Why? The whole world saw that Mozambique was able to make peace after a cruel and protracted war. It was in Mozambique that the United Nations managed to find a reason for its existence, considering that it had not done well in all the countries where it tried to settle disputes. It is, however, important to stress, while not depriving the UN Operation in Mozambique of its merit, that this fact owes much to the Mozambican people and the political and social forces in which they organized themselves. The Paris Club felt just that. It felt that there were guarantees for stability, that it was dealing with conscientious people that do want the development of Mozambicans, despite all the difficulties and corruption; corruption that is nothing but a drop in the ocean—though a serious one—if one compares it to what is taking place elsewhere.

The weekly DEMOS has published what it calls a public survey it had asked Gestinform to conduct. Of the 120 Mozambicans interviewed (it does not say what criteria and methods were used), 65.2 percent (73 of them) did not believe the government would get the financial assistance it had asked for because Paris Club members "trust our democracy very little" (36 answers), because there is "widespread corruption" (31 percent), and because they felt there was "little transparency in the allocation of funds" (22 percent), and so on.

DEMOS says those are the views of economists, jurists, businessmen, intellectuals, traders, union leaders, and politicians.

So, the government succeeded despite these views that purport to represent the majority. People in Paris did not subscribe to them, at least not in such a simplistic manner.

## Zimbabwe

### 'Disgruntled' ZANU-PF Members To Run as Independents

MB2803194395 Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE  
in English 16 Mar 95 p 3

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The recently concluded primary elections of the ruling ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front] resulted in a crop of discontented cadres who felt let down by the leadership. Some who boycotted the primary elections following presentations of breach of rules and procedures received very little hearing from the party election directorate headed by political commissar Moven Mahachi. Repeated calls, some of them said, to seek the intervention of the leadership at the crucial moments received neither sympathy nor attention.

As a result irregularities were rampant in many constituencies where the primary polls were taken.

Some of the disgruntled members have opted to contest the general elections as independents in defiance of a party ruling that they risk expulsion from the party.

Some panicked as they followed their leaders sheepishly only to find out they did not get the nod to contest, and no reasons were immediately available.

In the limelight of the disenchanted is Harare South member of parliament, the outspoken ex-combatant Margaret Dongo who boycotted the primary elections and proceeded to stand for a parliamentary seat as an independent. Her disappointment is shared by her supporters who are said to be reasonably numerous in the new constituency of Harare South.

Confusion which surrounded Vice-President Joshua Nkomo's participation in the primary elections, though uncontested, led to some people preparing for the fight only to be told that Isaac Nyathi should not be opposed. Nine other members of the party who had wanted to contest the Lobengula constituency felt betrayed.

In Chegutu East two contestants in the primary elections cried foul and boycotted the polls but sent a letter of protest to Mahachi. One of the contestants, Lindiwe Chopamba wrote a letter to Mahachi complaining that no rules were adhered to during the primary elections and that the result should be nullified. "No registered districts or branches were vetted before members voted meaning the people who voted in the four districts were never verified as genuine district or branch officials," she said.

The elections were eventually won by the deputy Minister of Education and Culture Edna Madzongwe who was also accused of intimidating junior party officials.

"All I need are free and fair elections which will be conducted by officials who respect party guidelines in this election process. I therefore appeal to you, sir, to give this matter your sympathetic consideration and act accordingly for the good of democracy. [no ending quotation marks as published]

#### **ZANU-PF Primaries Criticized Over Fairness**

*MB2803200095 Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 16 Mar 95 p 3*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] If the manner in which the ruling ZANU PF [Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front] party conducted its primary elections is a reflection of how it is going to govern, then there is very little in terms of the rule of law to expect, observers commented this week.

The chaotic situation arising from the primary elections also betrayed a lack of organisation in the ruling party and little regard for fairness, they said.

Senior lecturer in the department of Political Science and Administration, John Makumbe, said the primary elections revealed that ZANU PF could not keep records of its elected officials at district level and where the structures were hastily put into place the names disappeared quickly.

"If that is the way they will run the country, then we are in trouble," he said. He said more frightful was the fact that thousands of Zimbabweans' votes in the coming elections would only be rubber-stamping what a few ZANU PF district officials decided. "That is very unfortunate for democracy," Makumbe said.

Other observers said the primary elections proved that ZANU PF was unable to abide by principles of fairness as it either favoured certain people within its ranks in complete disregard of laid down rules and simply used technicalities to deny other people a fair chance to be elected to parliament.

Makumbe cited a strange situation where, in the Harare East constituency, primary elections held at the weekend were completed at ZANU PF headquarters resulting in sitting member of parliament for Harare North, Tiri-vanhu Mudariki losing despite confirmation of victory at the weekend.

Winnie Dzingayi was said to have finally won the election but she was left out in the nomination process which closed on Monday afternoon.

The confusion continued to reign in the ruling party with Vice-President Joshua Nkomo refusing to stand for parliamentary elections saying this was below his status, despite the fact that his colleague Vice-President Muzenda had used his current office to sideline retired Air Vice-Marshal Josiah Tungamirai in the Gutu North constituency. Thus, Nkomo's stance is set to embarrass the government. Observers say Nkomo was ignoring the

law which stated that the president was the only one who was not required to be a member of parliament.

Nkomo refused to stand for party primary elections and imposed a candidate, diplomat Isaac Nyathi. This was despite the fact that some nine candidates had expressed interest in contesting the vacated constituency.

"He is technically saying he should not be in parliament. That is legitimate but that is only when you change the law," Makumbe said.

Initially, when Nkomo indicated he did not want to stand for the primaries, President Mugabe said he would and should. President Mugabe will now be forced to appoint Nkomo a non-constituency member of parliament from the 12 he is entitled to under the present law.

Observers say this depletes President Mugabe's reserves for MPs because his hands are full of people who expect to be nominated by him back to parliament after losing in the primaries. Among these are Minister of State in the President's Office for Finance, Tichaendepi Masaya, Timothy Stamps and Tsungirirai Hungwe.

One glaring example is that practically all legally qualified people were unseated and these include members of the parliamentary Legal Committee, Byron Hove and Cyril Ndebele who were beaten in the primaries. Lot Senda also lost the primaries.

"President Mugabe has a crucial chess-game to play," Makumbe said referring to who he would pick for the 12 seats.

Of note is also the fact that some key ministries have lost their ministers and typical examples are Tichaendepi Masaya who is Minister of State for Finance and Timothy Stamps who is Minister of Health who faced the same fate as his deputy Tsungirirai Hungwe when he lost in the primaries.

"Both the doctor and the nurse are gone in the ministry of health," Makumbe said.

Makumbe said although it was legitimate for opposition parties to boycott the forthcoming general elections, they had left it too late and have let down their followers.

He said opposition parties had a legitimate reason for boycotting but this could only have been effective if all the parties boycotted the elections.

These parties should have petitioned parliament to change legislation which created an uneven playing field in favour of the ruling party or they could have opted for litigation to force change, he said.

On the scramble for parliament, observers say although there was no significant remuneration for an MP the position gave one access to invisible economic advantages.

"That is where the bread is. It's not the pay that matters but the other invisible benefits," one observer said.



### **Burkina Faso**

#### **Niger Government, Tuareg Delegations Arrive**

*AB2803203395 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 28 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Delegations of the Tuareg rebellion and the Government of Niger are once again in Ouagadougou for negotiations. The consultations that might start tomorrow are coming on just at a time when the chairman of the armed coordination representing the six Tuareg movements has announced the disintegration of the Coordination of the Armed Resistance [CRA]. The Coordination no longer exists, it has blown up, Mr. Mano Dayak announced today. Mr. Dayak has been the chairman of the CRA since its creation in February 1994.

### **Niger**

#### **Tuareg Leader Explains Reasons for Split**

*AB2903133595 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1200 GMT 29 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The causes for the split within the Coordination of the Armed Resistance [CRA], which comprises the six rebel Tuareg movements in our country, were revealed this morning. According to Rhissa Ag Boula, the leader of the Front for the Liberation of Air and Azaouak, fundamental differences currently exist between his movement and the CRA on the

implementation of the October 1994 Ouagadougou Accords. He says that many clauses of these accords have not been respected, mainly the one providing for the release of persons arrested and detained by the Niger authorities. Mr. Boula also complains that the anti-rebellion militias have not been disarmed in accordance with the Ouagadougou Accords.

While the Tuareg leaders were holding discussions among themselves, the members of the Niger Government delegation and those of the mediation committee, made up of Algeria, Burkina Faso, and France, were continuing their consultations today. These consultations are to help resume the expected peace negotiations.

### **Nigeria**

#### **Radio Reports Release of Abducted American**

*AB2903104095 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 0900 GMT 29 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nigeria has handed over an American citizen captured by Chadian rebels. At the ceremony the commandant of the 21 Armored Brigade Maiduguri, Colonel Joseph Okai, restated Nigeria's preparedness to assist other nations as a humanitarian gesture. The American, Mr. Anthony Johnson, was [passage indistinct] from the American Embassy yesterday in Maiduguri. The embassy official, Mr. (Phillip Carington), expressed gratitude to the Nigerian Government for the kind gesture.

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